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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to examine the influences of prior school experience on student teachers' thinking. It includes descriptions of students' prior school experiences and an intervention in which students were asked to reflect on and re-evaluate those experiences. Beliefs about education, learning, self worth, abilities, and the development of gender identity were investigated. Six student teachers, three male and three female, were interviewed twice, once at the beginning of the project and once at the end. The interviews included identical and specific questions about prior school experiences and how those events related to an understanding of the teacher's role and work. A support group was then established in which similarities and differences in experiences were discussed. It was clear that all of the student teachers had acquired at least some awareness of the influence of their prior school experiences. Teacher education programs must offer trainees an opportunity to reflect on the experience of being a student in order to break the cycle of students becoming teachers who replicate the forms of teaching which may have so limited their own lives. (LL)

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Obstacles to Student Teacher Reflection: The Role of Prior School Experience as a Barrier to Teacher Development

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Presented to the annual meeting of the

American Educational Research Association,

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> Only as we come to view our own actions and preferences as products of historical as well as biographical forces, rather than as natural or inevitable, can we escape the ideological assumptions that underlie teaching practices, and engage in reflective teaching (Berlak & Berlak, 1987).

This study deals with the issue of how to encourage the development of more thoughtful and creative teachers. This is a topic which has attracted the attention of both researchers and teacher educators concerned with developing a more reflective teaching practice. The study focused on an aspect of reflection that has received little attention: the role that student teachers' own prior school experiences play in their development. Student teachers were asked to reflect on their own prior school experiences as a tool for clarifying thinking.

Teacher educators concerned with developing a more reflective teaching practice have sought to encourage teachers to be more thoughtful and self evaluative. A reflective teaching practice is seen as offering benefits to both teachers and students: examining teaching practices may lead to an improvement in the quality of teaching as well as to the development of a basis for teacher growth and empowerment.

Different understandings exist, however, of what teachers and student teachers are to reflect on. These range from a fairly narrow concern with questions of means to achieve given goals (Cruickshank, 1985), to much broader questions about the role of the education system in the larger political structure (Ginsburg, 1989; Smyth, 1989).

Although there is a large body of literature supporting the value of student teachers reflecting on their practice (Applegate, Shaklee & Hutchinson, 1989; Beyer,

1984; Bullough, 1989; Ferguson, 1989; Garman, 1986; Goodman, 1987; Gore, 1987; Grant, 1984; Howey & Zimpher, 1989; Korthagen, 1985; Lalik, Niles & Murphy, 1989; Liston & Zeichner, 1989; Posner, 1985; Richards & Gipe, 1988; Ross, 1989; Schon, 1987; Weiss & Louden, 1989; Wildman & Niles, 1987), there are only a small number of empirical studies. In addition, the focus of much of the existing research is limited to how teacher education programs can be designed to make student teachers reflect. Little attention has been given either to the nature of the process of reflection or to the factors which encourage or inhibit its use. Notwithstanding these limitations, an array of interventions have been proposed as means to facilitate reflection: these include journals (Bolin, 1988), peer teaching (Morine-Dershimer, 1989), portfolios and peer partnerships (Richert, 1987), case-studies (Roth, 1989), and action research projects and ethnographic studies (Zeichner, 1987).

On the whole, research on reflection has lacked a strong analytical basis. A striking example of this defect is the fact that the fundamental question of why student teachers have difficulty reflecting has received little attention. Only in studies of teacher socialization (Lortie, 1975; Ross, 1987) and the publications of a small number of scholars who have taken a more analytical approach (Ball, 1989; Bolin, 1988; Buchmann, 1989; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Hollingsworth, 1989; Zeichner, 1987; Zeichner & Gore, 1990) is there any recognition of student teachers' prior school experience as an obstacle in learning to teach.

The focus of the present study is on the influences of prior school experience on student teachers' thinking. Included in the study were both a descriptive

component and an intervention: I sought both to provide descriptions of students' prior school experiences and to offer an intervention in which students were asked to reflect on and re-evaluate those experiences. Thus, my interest in reflective teaching is in freeing thinking from the patterns of earlier experience as a way of supporting the development of teaching practices which promote social and educational change. Therefore, I use the term "reflection" specifically to refer to the process of recalling and re-evaluating prior experience, a definition which differs from the word's more general meaning of thinking about teaching actions that have just been performed.

Work as a supervisor of student teachers informed my interest in reflective teaching. Thus, I have sought to encourage the development of teaching practices that engage students in their learning, particularly in what they find meaningful and helpful in sorting out their values and what they perceive as important. One consequence of that process has been a growing recognition of how difficult it is not only for student teachers to implement the different teaching methods to which they have been introduced in their teacher education program, but also to reflect fruitfully about the problems they encounter in doing so.

Watching others learn to teach reminded me of my own earlier years of teaching, remembering that I too had operated from largely unexamined notions about what constituted good teaching. Thus, through thinking about my own experience of learning to teach, the problems which were persistently observed in my student teachers, and the questions which the research on learning to teach did not adequately address, I became increasingly interested in exploring what inhibits teacher

reflection. It seemed apparent that what was needed was an approach to the problem of reflection that was more analytical than the methods employed in much of the previous research.

The fundamental assumption here is that a more complete analysis of why student teachers have difficulty reflecting can be obtained by combining with the ideas of critical theorists, some of the insights of the recent research on both teacher socialization, and the uses of autobiography as an instructional tool. In particular, the study has been informed by the work of those critical theorists who recognize the value of educators working for social and educational change.

While autobiography has been used by individuals who hold a number of different theoretical perspectives and commitments in their work with students and teachers (Bullough 1990; Butt, Raymond and Yamagishi, 1988; Goodson, 1980; Knowles and Ems, 1990; Miles and Furlong, 1988; Pinar, 1988; Quicke, 1988; and Woods, 1987), only a few educators (Britzman, 1986; Norquay, 1990; Weiler, 1988) have combined autobiography with a critical perspective. The critical perspective recognizes the role of larger social and political forces and particularly the role of domination and inequality in the formation of identities and social relationships.

In seeking to understand why student teachers have difficulties reflecting, attention is directed to the broader forces shaping students' lives. The problem of reflection is thus viewed in the context of students' position within the larger social structure and specifically their limited rights and power. One of the main societal institutions shaping identity through the exercise of power in dominant and subordinate relationships is education.

Role of Prior School Experience

The study explored the idea that student teachers' prior school experiences may act as an important obstacle to reflection: an obstacle to the development of teaching practices which promote social and educational change, and which challenge relationships of domination and exploitation. The two aspects of prior school experience investigated were (1) student teachers' beliefs about education and learning, and (2) beliefs about their own self worth and abilities.

Beliefs about Education and Learning

Student teachers come to teacher preparation programs having spent many years in classrooms watching teachers teach. Armaline (1989) writes "We are teachers in the only profession in which every single student brings at least 12 years of vocational observation and participation to the very first class in professional education" (p. 46). Prior school experiences provide students with beliefs and assumptions about how teachers teach, the students' role in learning, and the purpose of schooling. Trainees enter teacher preparation programs not as blank slates waiting to be filled, but with already formulated ideas about education and learning. These beliefs and assumptions shape the way in which trainees think about their role and, indeed, have been identified as important obstacles to teacher development (Buchmann, 1989; Feiman-Nemser 1983; Lortie, 1975; Zeichner, 1987).

One of the main models of teaching that operates in education and which many students have experienced, is based on the concept of banking (Freire, 1981). When education is defined as banking, students are viewed as empty vessels, and the role

of the teacher is understood to require little more than filling them up. The place of the student is passive and subordinate, with learning being defined as an act of memorizing and repeating the teacher's words. When student teachers have been subjected to years of such schooling, the subsequent problems rest not only in the strong probability that their intelligence and sense of self have been undermined by being treated as repositories for what teachers know, but also in the fact that this model of classroom practice also will be the one with which they are most familiar when thinking about their future role as a teacher.

Beliefs about Self Worth and Abilities

In addition to shaping beliefs about education and learning, prior school experience plays an important role in constituting students' sense of identity. Schooling provides students with important messages about their own identities and those of their peers.

One of the first lessons students learn is that they are relatively powerless. Giroux (1983) states "Most students exercise little power over defining the education experiences in which they find themselves" (p. 194). Students are legally required to attend school. They have little control over much of their learning, including what is learned, how learning takes place and how they are evaluated. Teachers' evaluations are not neutral. Students are judged and labelled. These labels, whether it be "top track," "weak student," or "college prep," provide students with a sense of who they are, their self worth and abilities. Schools play an important part in constituting students' subjectivities and thereby influencing students' life chances. Students have

little power either to challenge teachers' evaluations or to influence the process upon which they are based.

In addition to the lack of power that students as a whole experience, students are differentially treated according to factors of race, class and gender (Fuller, 1980; McRobbie, 1978; Ogbu, 1988; Sleeter & Grant, 1988; Weiler, 1988; Weis, 1988; Willis, 1977). The inequalities of the larger society are reflected in the way in which black, working-class and female students have traditionally been discriminated against in education. While students as a whole have little power, female students, working-class students and students of color are doubly oppressed.

To the extent that they have participated in this mainstream process of schooling, student teachers' own prior school experiences may act as major obstacles to their abilities to be reflective. Moreover, their habituation to lack of power in the student role may also lead them to accept as natural and normal, both their own experience as a student, and the larger assumptions about learning and education which are commonplace within many schools.

Privileged Identity Formation

While critical theorists (Giroux, 1988; Mclaren & Hammer, 1989) and feminist theorists (Culley & Portuges, 1985; Weiler, 1988) have documented the patterns of oppression for students of targeted groups, little attention has been given to understanding the experiences of schooling for people of privileged identities, white males of both working-class and middle and upper-class backgrounds. My interest in this topic was twofold: first, as a white middle-class male I was curious to know how

other students with similar identities had experienced schooling. Second, the identity formation of people with privileged identities has been almost ignored in the work of critical theory. What role are people with privileged identities able to play in social and educational change work and how, for example, are teachers, both male and female to work with students of privileged identities?

I suggest that it is important to understand how people are socialized into positions of privileged identity. Are there pressures upon white males to conform to an identity or stereotype and what role does schooling play in this process? Part of the reason why the question of privileged identities has been overlooked is that many of the educators concerned with social and educational change are themselves members of privileged groups who do not acknowledge or examine their own power and privilege (Ellsworth, 1989; Kimmel & Messner, 1989)

As a white middle-class male my subjectivity both offers me insights and at the same time sets limits on my ability to understand others, particularly targeted groups. I suggest that an important link in the understanding of the way in which men oppress women and other targeted groups, may be located in the way boys are mistreated by society and in the violence boys commit against each other. While feminist theorists have rightly challenged the traditional oppressive identity of women, there is little awareness of the limiting effects of traditional views of masculinity for men. [1]

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[1] Scholars who have identified the limiting effects of traditional views of masculinity for men include; Botkin, 1988; Brod, 1987; Chesler, 1987; Fine, 1987; Goodman, 1987; Neitlich, 1985; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Tolson, 1977.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to further our understanding of the problem of prior school experience in the process of reflection for student teachers. This intention is given significance by a question which teacher educators must answer: Given the ways in which prior experiences establish certain patterns of thinking and responding, whether in terms of identities or beliefs about teaching and education, how can education help people to reclaim a fuller sense of themselves?

Method

Six social studies student teachers enrolled in the "Methods of Teaching Social Studies" course, three male and three female, were randomly selected from a pool of volunteers. The student teachers were awarded credit for participation in the study as part of the final project required in the Methods course. The participants were each interviewed twice, once at the beginning of the project and once at the end.

In the initial interview student teachers were asked specific questions about their prior school experiences and how they related those events to their understanding of the teacher's role and work. After the student teachers were interviewed individually, a support group was established in which similarities and differences in experiences were explored. The support group, in which the researcher acted as facilitator, met for two hours a week for five weeks.

A main topic examined in the support group was the influence of prior school experience on the development of the trainees' gender identities. The researcher provided a theoretical understanding of students' experience, including their lack of

power and the ways in which male and female students are differently socialized. Student teachers were asked to identify both positive and negative experiences which related to their gender identity. They were then encouraged to re-evaluate the negative experiences, and to work on reclaiming a more complete sense of their male or female identity. In addition to gender identity, the study investigated a variety of connections between prior school experience and beliefs about teaching, learning and education.

Influences of Prior School Experience

Beliefs about Teaching

The significance of prior school experience to a student teacher's thinking about teaching was clearly conveyed by one student teacher, Brian. When asked in the first interview if he saw any connections between his own school experience and his understanding of his role as a teacher he replied

> I thought I did when I first started taking education courses. I had this preconceived notion that as a history teacher you get up and you have your blackboard and you write down the dates and you explain it to them and you make a joke or something to make the class more lively and that's how I thought it was done. I couldn't conceive of any other way of teaching history.

Brian's notion of teaching was based on his years of experience as a student watching teachers in the classroom. In their thinking about the teacher's role, prior school experience figured prominently for most of the support group participants. There was considerable difference, however, in the degree to which the student teachers had critically reflected on their own experience as a student and had incorporated this awareness into their thinking about their role as a teacher. Brian's

knowledge of different methods of teaching and learning, for example, was not based upon critical reflection on his own experience as a student and what that was like for him. It was the teacher in his micro-teaching class who made him aware of different methods of teaching through suggesting that he try approaches to teaching other than lecturing.

Where students had reflected upon their prior school experience, for the most part it was at a superficial level involving the identification of good and bad teachers. When asked about the connections between his prior school experience and his views as a trainee, Peter stated:

> I do see a connection because I remember bad teachers, and I try not to do what they do or what they did. I do try to almost imitate some of my high school teachers from time to time. I try to be that understanding, yet not too soft seventh grade teacher, the one who wants to see the students enjoy themselves.

In both interviews and support group interaction it was common for participants to indicate a desire to imitate the teachers they had enjoyed as students.

Brian made sense of his high school experience partly by dismissing it ("I never cared for school") and by blaming himself when he did reflect upon it ("I didn't put anything in to it"). In contrast, Ellen's views of teaching were informed by critical reflection on her experience as a student and her evaluation of certain teaching methods as not working for her. She described the connection she saw between her prior school experience and her thinking about her role now as teacher.

> I use my own school experience as a sort of frame of reference. When I think about what I want to do in the classroom the first thing I think about is how I was taught. Maybe it's more subconscious, but I don't think so. I tend to visualize things when I think and I visualize the classroom that I

> was in. I see those previous teachers in front of me and how they did it and then I see how I want to do it. You know how I want to change that . . . I don't want to sit there and lecture like I was lectured at for how many years. I would like to do something a little bit different because I know it didn't work for me.

Ellen's views of teaching were integrated with her own school experience and her recognition that what she was offered did not work for her.

Beliefs about Education

Student teachers not only gain ideas about teaching and learning from their experience as students, they also gain beliefs about the system of education as a whole, for example, about the purpose of education and how high school education connects with college education. I wanted to know how the student teachers perceived the value of their own educational experience, particularly the middle and high school years, and what role their schooling had played in the decision to become teachers.[2] Did they think that their years in school had provided a focus for their lives, some clarity about their values, and a basis for career decisions?

The student teachers described their middle school as containing, overall, a mixture of good and bad experiences. Their high school experiences, on the other hand, were seen by many as having questionable value. Ted expressed this when he said, "High school, sadly enough, I think that once it's over with, the educational aspect of high school has a smaller impact -- just about every aspect of it." In addition to a feeling of loss or sadness about their high school experience, both Tereze and

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[2] With one exception, the student teachers in the study were all training to be high school teachers.

Ellen expressed anger toward their education and the way in which they felt let down.

Tereze expressed her views toward her education:

> In terms of facts, I tell you I don't remember that much from my high school. I don't, for all the testing that was done I don't think it accomplished anything at all in terms of going to college or university. In fact I had to do a lot of reading before I went to college in order to prepare myself. So in terms of . . . it did teach me to read and write. You might say that.

Ellen spoke similarly about not having "gained any major cognitive skills at high school" that would enable her to be successful at college.

Most of the student teachers described high school experiences in which they felt they had little sense of purpose or direction. Ted described his reaction:

> I had a feeling of high school not really being integrated with anything else in my life. I didn't have a feeling that it was leading to anywhere or coming from anywhere or school in general. That's why I didn't care about it.

Coming to the end of high school, Bruce saw going to college as "the easiest thing to get my parents off my back" and "just another step to get to where people told me I would find a decent job, something that had to be done".

Given the student teachers' mainly negative views on their high school experiences, how were they making sense of their goal to be a high school teacher? Would they be able to bridge the gap between the limiting models of teaching and education that they felt they experienced and their desire to offer their students something different? Moreover, in addition to the beliefs students acquired about teaching, learning and education, what messages did they receive about their identities, particularly their gender identity?

Gender

I was particularly interested in exploring the messages that students had received about their gender identities. What was it like being male at school and what was it like being female? Are there pressures on male and female students to conform to a certain identity or stereotype and how does that identity limit their development? How do the messages that student teachers have received about their own gender identity affect and limit their thinking about the gender identity of their students?

Female Identity

The female students spoke about the importance attached to being physically attractive, to having a boy friend, and to the difficulties in establishing dependable female friendships because of the competition and jealousy among female students.

One woman in the group described being physically attractive as "all that mattered." In response to the question of what was good about being female at school, Tereze replied

> I couldn't think of anything good. It was real hard, not feeling valued for inner qualities and just what was on the surface. It was always how pretty you were, how coy you were, how much you giggled, how good looking you were, how big your tits were and all that stuff.

Liz described similar pressures to being accepted:

> What was bad was all the little game playing and all the popularity and that you were smiling and you were a sweet looking or happy looking fifteen year old but you were torn apart inside and this person is your best friend but you were really so jealous of them and really all you ever wanted to be was to be thought of as pretty and liked by boys and stuff.

In addition to the pressures to have a boy friend, two of the women spoke about the pressures they were put under to have sex. Tereze stated, "the one boy friend that I had, he made me really happy but I was pressured into having sex by him and that ended the relationship." For Liz there was an issue of class pressure as well as sex pressure:

> A lot of the boys, they were like, they had everything. They were all going to go to these great colleges and they were all super powered, from really powerful families, from professional families and really snobby and they could make you feel great, and usually I played along enough so that I would be on that side of the fence, but they could make you feel like shit.

An additional pressure for female students involved a tension between being smart and being physically attractive. Ellen described one of her worst experiences at school in which she was screamed at by her teacher and told she was the worst person the teacher had ever met. This affected her self esteem to such an extent that she decided the only way to survive was to ignore her intellectual abilities and play dumb. She described her decision:

> After that horrible experience in ninth grade, I decided that I wasn't going to be into school and I was just going to have a nice social life and do what I wanted and I basically played the game and like Tereze was saying, I was like Ms Giddy. I would flirt all the time, had a lot of boy friends, went out all the time and didn't care about school and the intelligence part. I pretended that I was dumb.

Ellen spoke about the positive reinforcement she received in her new role in which "Every one was asking me out and I had some more friends."

Male Identity

For the male students one of the main pressures was to"be tough," not to show any signs of emotion or weakness. Their stories included numerous references to physical violence, including being beaten up by male peers, beating up other males and being physically beaten by principals, parents and others.

Brian described himself as a tough kid at school: "Anybody who talked to you would tell you I was a tough kid, I mean it was attitude, everything." He described himself as being "very much of a punk" and being placed in a situation where "I was very capable of inflicting pain, both physical and emotional pain." He spoke about not picking on people who were helpless, but instead picking on

> . . . tennis players or people like that or valedictorians, people who are so sure that they were better than everybody. If they were walking in the hall I'd walk directly toward them and give them a look and God help them if they didn't move out of my way.

Brian described some of the benefits of being tough, including being free to go anywhere in the school, not being teased for baking cookies and not being accused of "being a weirdo or a wimp or a homosexual or anything because I didn't have a girl friend."

Ted spoke about how the pressure to be tough affected him: "Often times I know I developed a thicker skin through the socialization as a boy in schools, because you weren't supposed to let anything affect you as part of being tough." Ted saw that being thick skinned protected him against some of the ribbing and some of the other problems he experienced.

One of Peter's worst experiences was when his father was called into the school and he gave the Vice Principal permission to hit his son. Peter described the incident:

> There was a day when my Dad was called into school, this was eighth grade, the problematic year, and they told him what I'd done, I'd tripped somebody, and he said to the vice principal go ahead and hit him. And I was sitting there saying don't, don't say it, this guy can really hit. And my Dad left . . . . He had parental permission to do what ever he wanted to do. He gave me four licks instead of three, and that was tough.

Both Brian and Ted spoke about the hard part involved in trying to maintain their male identity. Ted described the hardest part as "probably not being allowed to cry and now I still have a hard time . . . I think that was the hardest part, being given a hard time for having emotions, for expressing emotions." Brian also spoke about the time he cried in fifth grade and how after that he "never cried in front of anyone else again." He spoke about not having anybody to whom he could really talk. For emotional support Brian depended on a rabbit:

> Any time I got really upset, I shouldn't say I never cried after fifth grade, no one ever saw me cry, I would grab my rabbit and go into the woods and I would sit down and hold him and cry. That's a hard part keeping up the attitude.

Brian spoke about the pressures involved in maintaining his reputation. "It would upset me. It bothers me because you had to pick on these kids. I mean not so much the kids with the glasses or because they were in the band or something like that, but you had to pick on somebody."

One of the most difficult parts of Peter's school experience was being teased by peers and by two male teachers for his enjoyment of music. In relating this incident to the group he said it was the first time he had ever talked about this and it hurt him to do so. He referred to "probably having some bias in my own life because of those experiences, because they were so ingrained." Peter recognized this teasing as homophobia.

Discussion and Evaluation

Asking student teachers to reflect on their prior school experiences, both individually and in the context of a support group, challenged their thinking about teaching and education in three ways: through offering them a broader perspective on the experience of schooling for students, through enabling them to better integrate their experience as a student and their role as teacher, and through helping them recognize the role of power in education, both in their own experience as a student and in their role as a trainee.

In addition to providing descriptions of student teachers' prior school experiences, the two other goals of the study were to explore the connections between student teachers' prior school experience and their thinking about teaching, learning and education, and to evaluate the success of an intervention designed to encourage student teachers to critically reflect on their prior school experiences. In order to facilitate evaluation of the intervention, the student teachers were asked the same set of questions in the final interview at the end of the support group meetings, as in the

initial interview. Possible changes in the student teachers' thinking could thus be identified and probed.

Responses to the initial interview questions showed that most student teachers were making connections between their prior school experience and their thinking about their role as teacher. There was considerable variation, however, in the extent to which student teachers had critically reflected on their prior school experiences and thereby become aware of the ways in which those experiences might be influencing them. By the final interview, however, it was clear that all of the student teachers had acquired at least some awareness of the influence of their prior school experiences, both on their teaching philosophy and the development of their gender identity.

Shifts in response to interview questions indicate that reflection had provided the student teachers with a much greater awareness of the power they would exercise as teachers in shaping students' identities. Brian stated his concern about this:

> That's something that we really have to worry about, it's one of the biggest negative aspects of school, we take away these kids identities, and they loose their individuality and I hadn't really thought of it or realized it until this group.

Through reflecting on the role of schooling in shaping their own gender identity, the trainees gained a better understanding of these issues for students. This was particularly so for two of the participants, Brian and Ellen. Prior to the work in the support group Brian had thought of himself as an isolated individual. Through reflecting on his school experience as a male and sharing this with the other men in

the group, he began to recognize that what he had assumed to be his own individual identity was part of a more general, socially constructed male identity:

> I didn't realize how strongly those values have been, are implanted in me . . . . I was surprised to see how really stereotypically male that I had been, more so in high school than now but still now. When we did that group work I was kind of embarrassed. It's kind of scary.

The intervention also allowed Ellen to redefine her worst school experience, a situation in which she was verbally abused by a teacher. Where she previously had made sense of this experience by blaming herself, concealing her intellectual abilities and making physical attractiveness the center of her identity, she was now able to recognize the connection between the larger social and political forces which oppress women and the limiting role into which she was forced. She spoke about how the support group helped her make the connection:

> I hadn't made the connection before. I just maybe felt that, sort of put myself down for it, I let myself get that way not citing any reasons for it. 'I'm just a fluff, just a total bimbo in high school.' I always just blamed myself for a weakness in character.

For Tereze, work in the group had helped her clarify a variety of issues related to her own school experience: "Just understanding where my behavior comes from, or my reactions come from and knowing about my past . . . Reflecting on what happened in the past and trying to deal with not bringing my issues into the class."

Conclusion

The study provides evidence for the value of student teachers critically reflecting on their prior school experiences. School experience appears to play an important part

both in providing students with beliefs about teaching, learning and education, and in shaping students' sense of identity. The power of school experience produces much more than a few ideas about how to teach: It provides a perceptual set which may be more influential than any subsequent training intervention.

One thing is certain, the pressures upon teachers leave them little opportunity to reflect upon the nature and origins of their practice. It is essential, therefore, that teacher education programs offer trainees an opportunity to reflect on the experience of being a student. Without this opportunity, there is little chance for a break in the cycle of students becoming teachers who replicate the forms of teaching which so limited their own lives.

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